

WORKSHOP DOCUMENT

Strengthening Democracy Through Nonviolence 9-18 December 2009

Venue

Venue: Mahatma Gandhi Sewa Ashram, Joura, Morena

The Workshop Facilitators

Stuart Morton (UK)



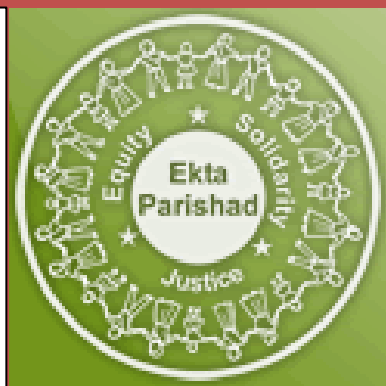
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STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY THROUGH NON-VIOLENCE

Our Peace Builders



First Row: (From Left) Martha Kemper, Viv Hawkins, Sherlin, Archana, Piyush
Second Row: (From Left) Nasir, Mrutunjay, Stuart, Vishwatma, Thayaparan, Ganga
Last Row: From Left: Vijay Bharatiya, Nishanta, Ashik, Harendra, Kinzang, Benzi, and Sonam

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BACKGROUND

THE CONTEXT OF THE WORKSHOP

- South Asia presents a contrasting picture where people crave for democracy and peace but the scenario is that of terrorism, sectarianism, extremism, totalitarianism where other coercive forces are active and often controlling the process and democratic spaces.
- There is need to contrast and compare the ground realities and challenges facing democracy in each South Asian country as their problems and some solutions connect with one another at a regional level.
- The present power structures in all six countries need to be challenged to reclaim the spaces.
- There is need to link democracy-justice-peace as the concept of non-violence.
- Non-violence is a fundamental democratic value and tool to bring change in power structures.
- Transferring the tools and techniques of nonviolence can help to secure a better democratic process.
- Nonviolence needs to be understood, practiced and cherished as intrinsic value to be lived with. Promotion of this practice among community and specifically youth has assumed importance.

DEMOCRACY AND SAPA WORK

Each SAPA member organization is facing challenges to the democratic process within their communities and countries. Their experience of these different realities and how they overcome them is consistent with the participation, advocacy and dialogue approaches of Governance and Democracy objectives. Ekta Parishad, SAP-PK, and IHRICON (Nepal) have all worked at local community level and as advocates to government at middle and high levels. GUP mainly operates at local community level but is also a key actor in peace practice within Bangladesh and has played a highly significant role in the Fair Election Monitoring Alliance. PCA (Sri Lanka) mainly works at peace building through dialogue at the local community level but is also a catalyst for a broader peace building network through SAPA within the country.

SAPA is a network for pan-regional interaction and learning. It is a democratic space which uses regional encounters, and shared learning for creating alternative thinking and action to the predominant “power over” model.

Ekta Parishad is probably one of the leading non-violence movements in South Asia. It is an expert advocate that enables the poorest to voice their concerns (on land, water and forest issues) at the very highest national level. Ekta Parishad has been the catalyst within the region that has brought SAPA into being.

WORKSHOP OBJECTIVES

1. Develop an understanding of democracy (its values and practice)
2. Clarify the role of non-violence as a philosophy and method in relation to a much broader power distribution within South Asian societies, with particular reference to the “people centred politics” and “last person” as stated by Gandhi in his “Talisman”.
3. Identify specific and real challenges in S. Asia to the practice of these democratic values and practices
4. Share our experiences of, and insights into, non-violent democratic action, in order to further develop appropriate tools, techniques, and strategies
5. Work out with participants how to strengthen a non-violent democratic network in South Asia.

VENUE

Mahatma Gandhi Seva Ashram, Village Joura, district Morena, Madhya Pradesh, was the venue of the workshop. Joura is about 25kms from Gwalior, which is about 350 kms from New Delhi.

The setting of this workshop was decidedly rural and simple and very different from the locations in which the SAPA Core Group meetings have been held earlier, the venue had historical significance. It was the scene of one of the greatest instances of nonviolent transformation of conflict-where hundreds of dacoits (armed outlaws) in 1970's had surrendered at the instance of first Vinobaji, and later, Shri Jaiprakash Narayan. Young Rajagopal (Co-coordinator of SAPA) had made important contribution in making this event a historical one. Nonviolence seeds were sown here.

WORKSHOP METHODOLOGY

1. The workshop was facilitated in a highly democratic manner. Logistical and lifestyle problems within the ashram where the workshop was held were tackled through consensus – in fact one participant called this “extreme democracy”.
2. Democracy at every level of society was enacted by the participants – family, school, local community, high politics and the values of democratic behaviour identified. The Breaking the Cycles of Violence tool recognised the importance of building non-judgemental attitudes in which dialogue can flourish and democracy built.
3. The nonviolence tools introduced enabled participants to look at power relations – from “Unequal power” to “Shifting power relations” and towards conflict resolution, reconciliation and conflict transformation. These skills are needed to strengthening community based leadership for good democratic practices.
4. Provide support for networks and regional, national and pan-Commonwealth coalitions working to influence policy and practice
5. The building of a people’s movement was demonstrated and the workshop participants participated in a public rally to show how advocacy tools are used.

SUMMARY OF THE WORKSHOP

The workshop was participatory and interactive. It basically focussed on developing understanding democracy from grassroots level (community) and from the point of the marginalised.

It also gave insight into “people centred” approach to development and the workshop was integrated with the Ekta Parishad building of a people’s democratic movement using group and plenary debate, dramas to raise awareness, padyatra (footmarch) in villages etc.

The activity aimed at building the capacity of the participants through demonstration of a variety of non-violence tools e.g. breaking the cycle of violence for strengthening democracy by resolving conflicts at the grassroots at the community level; “Theatre of the Oppressed” using theatre as a medium for empowering the marginalised. Some other tools e.g. Pillars of Power; force field analysis, social speedometer helped in making analysis for developing appropriate strategies.

GENDER AND YOUTH

The workshop made a sincere attempt to address the concerns of gender and youth. The visa regime radically damaged the gender and youth balance in the event as all 4 Pakistanis (2 women, 2 men), 2 Sri Lankan women, and one 1 Afghan male failed, despite large administrative efforts to gain entry visas to India. Most of the 13 South Asian participants (5 countries) had taken part in the South Asia Peace Alliance Core Group meeting that immediately preceded the workshop. A vigorous perspective emerged, well articulated by a South Asia woman as “The feminine non-violent approach” to develop individual-collective relationships that have a transformative capacity in contrast to the dominant patriarchal paradigm. The women present in our group (2 Indians, 2 Americans, 1 Bhutanese, and 1 Brazilian) helped to maintain the level of awareness of this well stated feminine dimension throughout much of the workshop.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This workshop was made possible through financial support extended by Coomonwealth Foundation, UK. , Ekta Parishad, India and logistics support given by the Mahatma Gandhi Sewa Ashram Joura, Madhya Pradesh, india. Not to forget the important role played by Quaker Peace & Social Witness(QPSW) in facilitation the workshop.

FEEDBACK

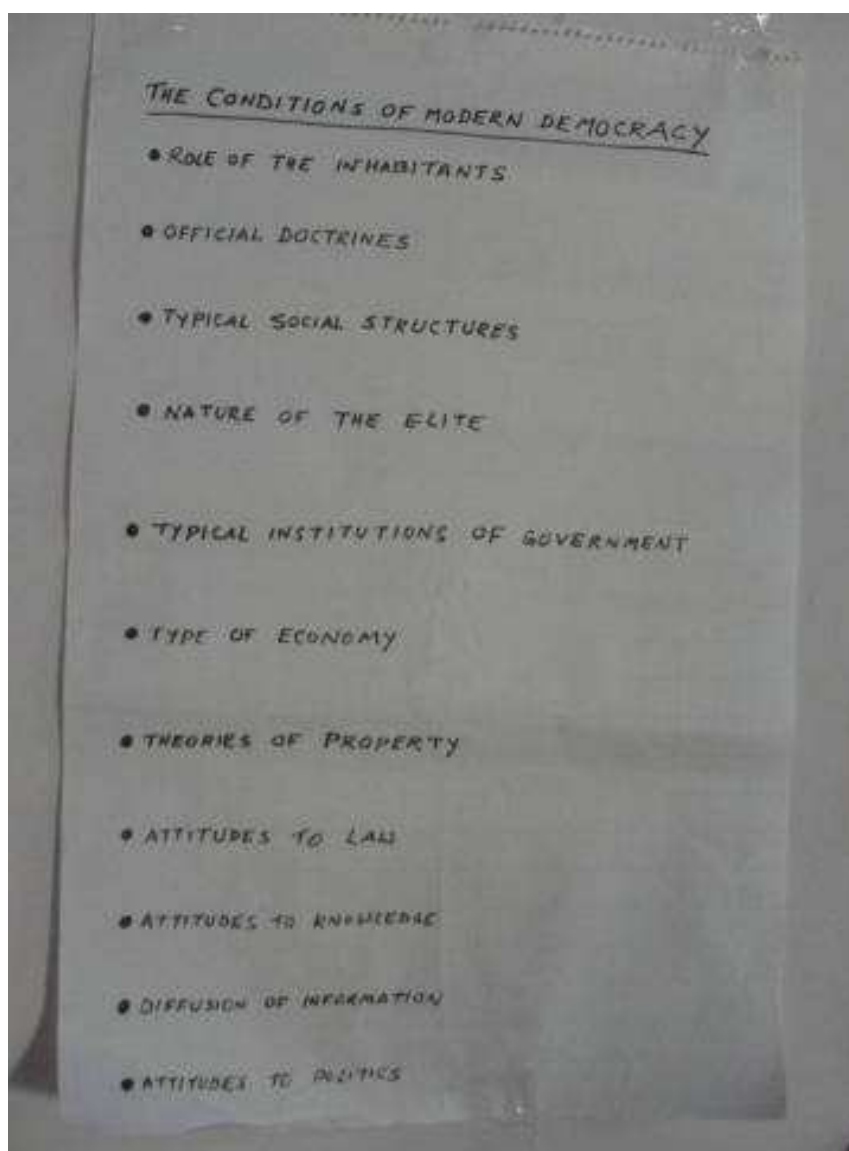
SAPA Secretariat has prepared this Workshop Document so as to create the utility value. We would appreciate the feedback on the effectiveness of the tools used in this workshop and we would happy to receive any further materials that could be useful for peace builders and we can also think of bringing out collection of resource materials on the theme.

EXPLORING THE THEME: DEMOCRACY

WHAT ARE THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY?

“What are the basic principles of democracy? They are twofold: popular control over public decision making and decision makers; and equality between citizens in the exercise of that control....These are the principles that democrats in all times and places have struggled for: to make popular control over public decisions both more effective and more inclusive; to remove an elite monopoly over decision making and its benefits; and to overcome obstacles such as those of gender, ethnicity, religion, language, class, wealth etc to the equal exercise of citizenship rights”.

From “State of Democracy in Bangladesh”: Dalem Ch. Barmen, M. Golam Rahman. Tasneem Siddiqui pp.4-5 (published by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and Department of Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka 2002.



The above quotation was explored at length through discussion. Another point discussed was “Democracy as a system that allows for peaceable compromises to be made between ever present conflicts between values and interests” (from B. Crick "Democracy - a very short introduction" p.93)

The session on democracy opened up the idea that democratic behaviour can happen in many levels of society - family, local community, within an organization, high level politics. Examples of this were portrayed through drama and also noted on flip charts. We then had a discussion on the values that underpin good democratic behaviour.

DEMOCRACY- VALUES

The discussion on conditions of modern democracy was carried forward with discussion on some values of good democratic behavior were identified as:

- Honesty- truth
- Love – caring
- Respect each other
- Just – sharing
- Willingness to make sacrifices for other.
- Equality
- Good for all of the whole towards unity
- Service

Transforming power...power to powerless

People's Politics versus State Politics

(Based on Speech & dialogue by P.V.Rajagopal, co-coordinator of SAPA with the participants)

Democracy is in danger in South Asia

Democracy is in danger in South Asia. Democracy in Pakistan is very fragile. In India it is very crude, and physically based on muscle and money power. Although it claims to be the largest democracy, it is really not so. In Nepal, it is in danger again, although we had thought it had been saved. In Bangladesh one doesn't know when violence in the name of preserving democracy will suddenly break out. How do we strengthen the democratic process, is the question.

Representative democracy – away from Gandhi's Ideals

In India we have a representative democracy, where we think that we elect a parliament is an there it ends, end in itself. 540 people will decide the fate of one billion people from now onwards, they have been elected on the basis of money and muscle power. So we are really not living in a democracy although we claim to do so and are proud of our democracy. There is little or no effort to reform our political system or our electoral politics. Those who get into Parliament reap the benefits leaving behind millions of people. They then begin to loot and grab all the resources. If they do not have the technology to do so, they get it from outside, from international companies. Thus the MNCs and politicians collude to create problems for those at the bottom. Therefore in spite of all the resources, land, forest and water, people still remain poor. They line up in front of govt. offices, forming endless queues, to ask for BPL (Below Poverty Line) certificates, Dalit certificates, widow

certificates, old age certificates. They often have to pay bribes to get what is rightfully theirs. Since they do not have the money, they borrow money-thus creating a long line of beggars.

We have left behind Gandhi's ideas of self sufficient villages, at the bottom, all uniting to form a national force. Rather we now have a highly centralized power structure, dictating terms to the people at the bottom. This democracy as it exists today has taken us far from the ideals of Gandhi. Bhutan is perhaps an only exception.

Time to move from representative democracy to Direct Democracy

Are we really trained to run a democracy or a democratic system? Or did we just borrow it because it sounds good? In fact, we can borrow anything these days, including democracy. The challenge before us is to help more people to understand democracy and democratic behavior, ranging from the family, to the society. Perhaps we need to move from the representative democracy to the direct democracy, as for instance in Switzerland. The Swiss Govt is forced to ask its citizens to take decisions on every issue, unlike in India where an elected representative can take a decision on behalf of the people.

In a representative democracy, the people cannot have a say in the day to day running of the govt. and do not ask any questions. What we need therefore, is a system which reflects people's views. In other words, we really need a system which reflects people's politics. Once elected to power, the representatives cannot be allowed to have all the powers. Some mechanism is needed to tell them what is right and what is wrong and in which direction they need to go. We need a system to control the state. How do we mobilize people at the bottom? How do we mobilize them so that they can give value based decisions and directions? At present, the elections do not really change anything other than the party in power. Development policies don't change.

In 1974, when the Congress party under Mrs. Indira Gandhi began to get more dictatorial and started silencing all voices of dissent, we started talking of people's politics. It was JP who first talked of the Right to recall people's representatives who were not performing as per the wishes of the people. The idea of having People's candidates as representatives to the Parliament rather than from political parties began to gain ground. Could we have one individual who could take people's aspirations into the policy framework?

Idea of People's Power

Today we need to speak of people's politics and people's candidates and people's control over decision makers and politicians. Therefore we face the challenge of state power vs. people's power. Because of class, caste and other religious divides that permeate the political system all our villages are in pieces. We need to develop our capacity to unite villages into a people's force, which in turn would create fear in the minds of the politicians, so that they are bound to listen to the voices of the common people. Or else they would not have a chance to survive. Our capacity to mobilize people is a challenge. Only when we mobilize the people and their power, then we realize the power of the poor. The poor are generally viewed as weak and

helpless and in need of support. On the contrary they have a huge potential which we need to recognize and get them to express that power. They may be powerless in money but rich and powerful in culture, in their relationship with nature and community life. So we need to change our own mindset and see all those who have no money as powerless. We have to help them to realize that power which lies within them. We have to approach them differently. What is needed is a new vision. We should see them as most powerful, and therefore need to see them as equals. We should try to create that power into people's politics-which translates into people's power-the power of the poor, the power of the youth, the power of women and the power of the common people. It is a challenge to understand and address that power. Therefore the young people should go to the communities and understand that power. Only then can we have people's politics. Only then we can understand the reality of democracy as it exists in South Asia, understand the potential of the people and the potential of the young. We should fully explore that potential. This is my idea of people's power.

Going beyond Gandhi

We are still stuck with the old ideas. We are followers of Marx, Paulo Freire, of Mahatma Gandhi. That is also our problem. We see ourselves only as followers. As long as we have that position we cannot go beyond. As long as we are following them, we are also glorifying them, as followers we also need glorified leaders to be in front of us. And we are also interested in isms-Marxism and socialism and Gandhism. We are all divided into isms so we can never unite people. And unless we get through these blocks of isms. Much time has elapsed since the time of Mao and Gandhi. Gandhi spoke about justice, about village self sufficiency, but after so many years, where are we? We are nowhere ahead. We are far behind. So now, looking at new ideas, new positions and helping people to understand we can really change things if we want. Its potential needs to be addressed. Exploring this potential is a very important agenda for us. The moment we start doing it we realize that people's power can control any state. Let me conclude by saying that the state is like an Elephant. An elephant can be good if it is controlled. And it can be very dangerous if it is left loose. It can create a lot of problems. So understanding the state and understanding the power of the people is very important for us in strengthening democracy in South Asia. Only then can we strengthen the nonviolent process in the society. As long as we have a state like we have at present, it will only create more depression more frustration. It will push people to the wall and create more violence. The democratic system of the day cannot really promote a nonviolent society. In order to promote a nonviolent society we need a better democratic system. I am not discussing the idea of going beyond democracy now. Our democracy is very limited. It is 49:51 game. Only one person decides who wins and who loses. This is no way in which society can be run properly. So we need to go beyond democracy...beyond Gandhi, Beyond Marx, beyond Mao, beyond everything!

(Stuart Morton to Rajagopal: Do you think that democracy, if properly honoured and practiced, could do what you want—ie. People would have the ability to remove and elect their leaders?)

Will the current frame work for democracy lead to “People Politics?”

We have progressed from democracy to dictatorship, but are still in the 49:51 phase and this can be manipulated. To play this game you need very enlightened people across the globe. I don't see very enlightened people. What happened in Iran is an example what happened in Afghanistan is an example.

What happens in the tribal communities is very interesting. We have sit-in programme for 3 or 4 or 5 days in the decision making process—as long as we want. Tribal Community will sit with one piece of bread—sharing food. Food is not very important anyway. Whatever is available, everyone will share.

If you travel with me some 100 kms away, you will come to a place where 48 villagers will come together. This is called 48village family. There is also 28 village family. There is also 100 village family. We can sit there for 3 days, discussing issues like why did this boy kidnap this girl, or other such small issues. And everyone discusses this issue and decides what punishment is to be given. We then tell them why do you spend so much time on discussing this trivial matter? Why don't you discuss issues like -Why did they take away our land? I am amazed that these so called uneducated people have the capacity to sit for 3 days and discuss an issue in such great depth and detail and we have no time to decide on issues.

Manmohan Singh (Prime Minister of India) does whatever he wants because he has 5 years. So I think in a society which is not enlightened enough to understand the responsibility of getting elected and being in a position where I am taking decisions which concerns the lives of millions. This is a dangerous game. We are spending millions of rupees to go Copenhagen to discuss Climate issues—what are we discussing? The end result of this development model is what we are discussing. (This leads to nowhere)

I am a proponent of consensus making decision making process. In the organizations where I work, we never go through the voting patterns. But you are right—if we can strengthen the decision making process—let there be a fear among the decision making people, fear of the people. Aspirations of the people are be taken into account

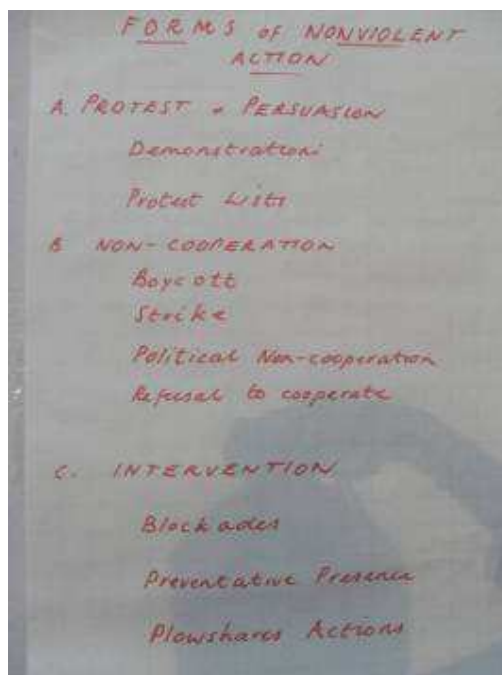
Violence & Non Violence

Forms of Violence as came out during interaction were

Anger	Miscommunication
Losing Patience	Eating unhealthy food
Protest	Poverty
Jealousy	Domestic Violence
Not Listening	Injustice
Negligence	Superiority
Exclusion	communalism
Egoism	Apathy
Abusing Power	Hierarchy
Discrimination	Stealing
Unconsciousness	Physical attack
Terror	Sexual Abuse
Ignorance	Destruction
bullying	Rape
suicide	War
Grabbing Resources	Bad Behavior'
Rumor	Noise

FORMS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION

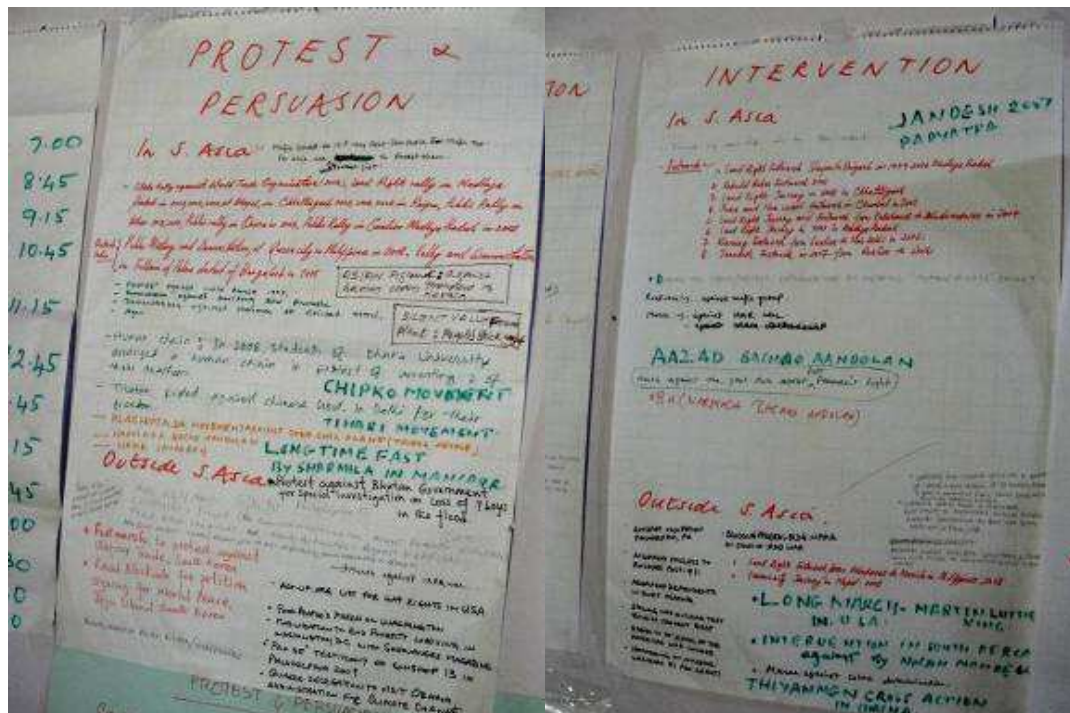
A presentation was made on forms of nonviolent forms of action.



Different forms of nonviolent action were identified as:

- A. *Protest & Persuasion*
 - i. Demonstration
 - ii. Protest lists
- B. *Non- Cooperation*
 - i. boycott
 - ii. strike
 - iii. Political Non- cooperation
 - iv. refusal to cooperate
- C. *Intervention*
 - i. Blockades
 - ii. Preventative Presence
 - iii. Plowshares Actions

After developing understanding forms of nonviolent actions, the group then divided themselves and identified specific actions that took place based on their recalling the events /experience. The group came up with following charts:-



Under three forms: Protests and Persuasion, Non cooperation and Intervention events, happenings were identified within south Asia and outside South Asia. The awareness generated in this session helped them to understand the forms of nonviolent actions better.

OPEN MONEY/FREE CURRENCY

"Our consumer society has built an ideology of accumulation. This is triggered by the scarce monetary system. Rather than sharing the stuff we need, we accumulate it in our basements, garages and backyards. Skis, furniture, toys, lawnmowers, tools, washing machines, books (ah, books!), DVDs, carpets, dishes, clothes... This stuff doesn't circulate, nor it is shared. It piles up in every house. How would the consumer's economy be if we didn't have to reproduce the same artifact a zillion times? How would it be if we shared? How would it be if everything became a flow?" -Jean-François Noubel

Naima from France made a brief presentation about "open money". The 'Open Money' it's not just about currencies, it's also about global collective intelligence, i.e. to create self-organizing and self-governance capacities for the civil society

Free currencies can easily flow through cell phones, and it's not difficult to issue printed currencies for areas that have no technologies at all. But we want to remember that the power comes when the whole infrastructure is supported by

software and internet in the back stage, which gives the system its resilience and the capacity to scale up in a distributed, non local way.

Free currencies allow you to express and build all forms of wealth, from buying and selling stuff to building reputation and trust in the circles you are part of. Free currencies also allow the measurement of things such as quality, reliability, productivity, health, sustainability, etc. Any values that count for you and the people you work with. Isn't this real capital?

There is no limit to how many currencies can be created and there is no need to limit the amount of "money" that can exist within a particular currency. If you have expertise, talent, creativity, time to offer or things to sell, you will always be able to find a currency or create a new one to bring wealth to fruition.

Free currencies and flow places, and build an organic roadmap for implementing them: the next free currencies are a new paradigm. It doesn't mean that people need advanced studies to get it. Actually grass-root people tend to understand it better than academic people because they have a better sense of what's really needed. But still, old money and old scarcity mechanisms are built in every culture today. Providing currencies that are not scarce is a spiritual leap that needs practice with the tools. This practice has to be initiated organically by a group of people who want to take on the journey. The more people understand non-violence, the more they understand what this is all about and the practicalities of it

Jean-François Noubel assumes that India is certainly the most advanced in mobilizing crowds for social justice without Internet and socialware. But we want to go beyond massive civil actions, and build realistic infrastructures for the communities to self-cohere and self-manage themselves without being dependent on centralized top-down command and control structures. We need to evaluate what are the current strength and weaknesses in regards to Internet/socialware infrastructures.

Further resources:

<http://noubel.com/>

<http://www.slideshare.net/jfnoubel/081125-future-of-money-mexico-jf-noubel-presentation>

<http://people.thetransitioner.org/>

<http://flowplace.webnode.com/droplets/>

Nonviolence is the finest quality of the soul, but it is developed by practice. Almost everything you do will seem insignificant but it is important that you do it. - Mohandas Gandhi

TOOLS FOR STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY THROUGH NON-VIOLENCE

SHARING OF TOOLS BASED ON EXPERIENCES WAS THE IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF THE WORKSHOP. IMPORTANT SOURCES OF THESE TOOLS WERE DRAWN FROM THE SAPA MEMBERS' CORE COMPETENCY LIKE BREAKING THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE AND TRAINING & CAPACITY BUILDING PROGRAMME OF EKTA PARISHAD. IN ADDITION RESOURCES FROM THE WELL DOCUMENTED "TURNING THE TIDE" SERIES, ALTERNATIVE TO VIOLENCE PROJECT AND THEATRE OF OPPRESSED WERE ALSO USED FOR GIVING EXPOSURE TO THE PARTICIPANTS.

The "**Turning the Tide**"** series looked at the issues of power. The reasons behind looking at the issues of power were specifically to:

- Help people realise they've got it.
- identify power holders in order to effect change
- look at the nature of the power we have
- find links between the obvious power (eg ruler) and the less obvious (hidden oppression)
- examine the power of powerlessness
- identify the weapons of the spirit (transforming power of nonviolence)
- reclaim power as a positive (power with, not power over)
- help us deal with (or understand) people who have 'power over'move from seeing power as a block to seeing it as a means for change
- understand that their power requires our obedience
- Overall we talk about power in order to help action for change be more effective.
- In the context of a workshop, this needs to be simplified if we are to communicate.



**Turning the Tide is a programme of Quaker Peace and Social Witness (QPSW). More details <http://www.turning-the-tide.org/>

Altogether in the workshop eight tools/methods directly were practiced.

THEY WERE AS FOLLOWS:

1. *ALTERNATIVE TO VIOLENCE*
2. *PILLARS OF POWER*
3. *FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS*
4. *SOCIAL SPEEDOMETER*
5. *BREAKING CYCLE OF VIOLENCE*
6. *THEATRE OF THE OPPRESSED*
7. *FILM BASED CASE STUDY: A FORCE MORE POWERFUL (A FILM OF NONVIOLENT ACTION)*
8. *STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY AT GRASSROOTS :EKTA PARISHAD ACTION BASED TRAINING PROCESS AND FOOT MARCH PARTICIPATION*

Alternatives to Violence

Violence comes in many forms--from downs and dismissal of ourselves and others to the taking of human life. people are exposed to some form of violence daily. Often we knowingly or unknowingly inflict violence on others. Interpersonal violence represents human interaction. The Alternatives Violence Project provides a space for practice transforming conflict into win outcomes. No one loses. Conflict becomes an opportunity for greater understanding, an opportunity to deepen



put-
Most
failed
to
us to
win-

relationship. Alternative to Violence tool in the workshop focused strengthening communication skills of the participants to build cooperative relationships. Guides to Transforming power exercise was taken up by understanding point by point.

ALTERNATIVE TO VIOLENCE PROJECT

Guides To Transforming Power

Guides to Transforming Power

1. Seek to resolve conflicts by reaching common ground.
2. Reach for that something in others that seeks to do good for self and others.
3. Listen. Everyone has made a journey. Try to understand where the other person is coming from before you make up your mind.
4. Base your position on truth. Since people tend to seek truth, no position based on falsehoods can long prevail.
5. Be ready to revise your position if you discover it is not fair.
6. When you are clear about your position, expect to experience great inward power to act on it. A response that relies on this power will be courageous and without hostility.
7. Do not expect that this response will automatically ward off danger. If you cannot avoid risk, risk being creative rather than violent.
8. Surprise and humor may help transform.
9. Learn to trust your inner sense of when to act and when to withdraw.
10. Work towards new ways of overcoming injustice. Be willing to suffer suspicion, hostility, rejection, even persecution if necessary.
11. Be patient and persistent in the continuing search for justice.
12. Help build a community based on honesty, respect, and caring.

Help Along the Way

- Build your own self-respect
- Respect and care about others.
- Expect the best.
- Ask yourself for a non-violent way. There may be one inside you.
- Pause--give yourself time--before reacting. It may make you open to transforming power.
- Trust your inner sense of what's needed.
- Don't rely on weapons, drugs, or alcohol. They weaken you.
- When you have done wrong, admit it, make amends if you can, so that you can forgive yourself, then let it go.
- Don't threaten or put down.
- Make friends who will support you. Support the best in them.
- Risk changing yourself.

What it Feels Like

The transforming power experience feels like:

- AHA!!!!
- There is a spirit of caring.
- There is a letting go of something. (Patterns? Grudges?)
- There is a sharing of something.
- You feel right about it.
- You lose your fear if you had any.

Pillars of Power

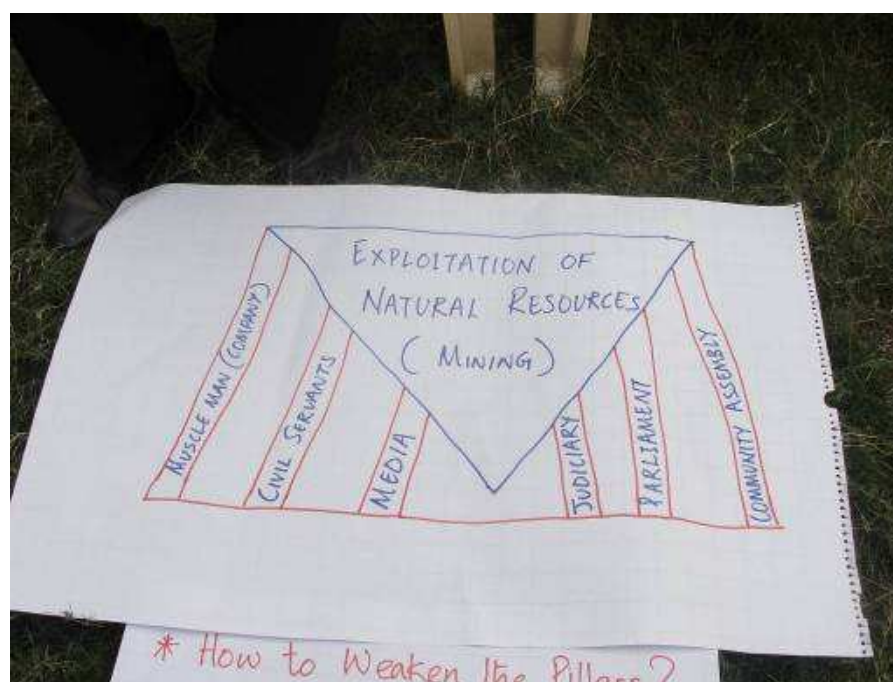
This exercise was undertaken in groups to make participants understand how all power structures require sustaining, that they are propped up by certain social forces or factors. This tool identifies these forces/factors as the pillars of power and once identified, a group can start to think about campaign strategies to shift the power balance into their favour.

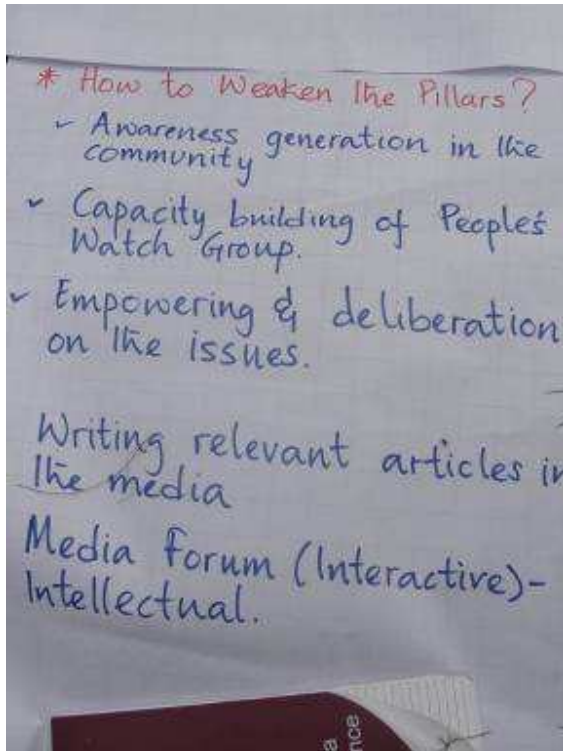
- Analyze why the problem exists
- To transform a problem situation, we need to understand why it exists and who potentially supports and opposes it.
- We need to analyze the power structure to find entry points for resistance, constructive work, etc.

An analysis should consider the following questions:

- Do we understand the context and the root causes of the problem?
- Who benefits and who suffers from it and how?
- Who holds the power, and who has the power to create change? (Who forms part of the structures underpinning this? Who opposes this?)
- Is there a difference between male and female roles? (See also Section Two, 'Gender and Nonviolence'.)
- What are the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats for a campaign to change this? (SWOT analysis)
- What theories do we bring to this analysis?
- How does our commitment to nonviolent social change affect our analysis?

The group looked more deeply into at those who support and oppose the structure, use the 'Spectrum of Allies' exercise, which helps us identify and analyze the players and our allies and opponents and helps in making strategic decisions regarding who we want to move.





After the exercise 'The Pillars of Power' the groups discussed—what are the short- and medium-range goals that weaken the pillars? What do we aim to do with the underlying principles? Can we answer the above questions positively? Deliberations were made on the above questions

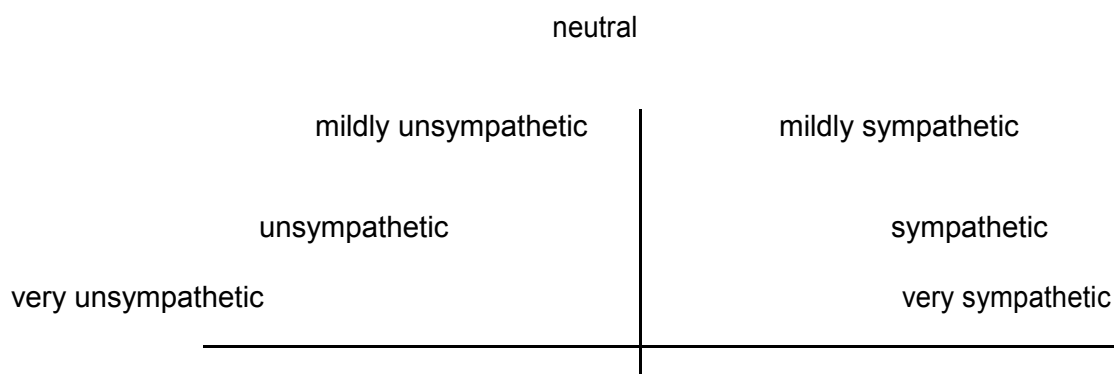
How to weaken the pillars (Based on chart of Participants

- Training
- Organizing Agitation
- Using Media
- Empowering the community
- Dialogue

SOCIAL SPEEDOMETER

This tool is useful for assessing the attitudes of groups and individuals towards your campaigning goal. It helps you to identify who are allies, potential allies, the neutral parties (or persuadable parties) and those in most opposition to your goal. (See Annexure for details)

SOCIAL SPEEDOMETER



Force Field Analysis

This exercise is used to analyze the forces working for and against a particular goal or activity to identify where change could most realistically start to happen. It's best used in conjunction with the Social Speedometer. (See annexure for details)

FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS BY PARTICIPANTS

The participants came up with following analysis as to what helps and what hinders.

<u>Helps</u>	<u>Hinder Stop</u>
Commitment	Apathy
Training – Raise	Selfish Action
Sensitization	Judgment
Listening	Attachment
Sharing	Ignorance
Literacy- awareness	Fear of others
Theater- awareness	Opinion
Non-verbal	Repression
Dialogue	Discrimination
Sacrifice	Non-participation]
Caring – Action	Hierarchy
Empathy/Understanding other	Prejudice
(Earning from each other)	Superstition

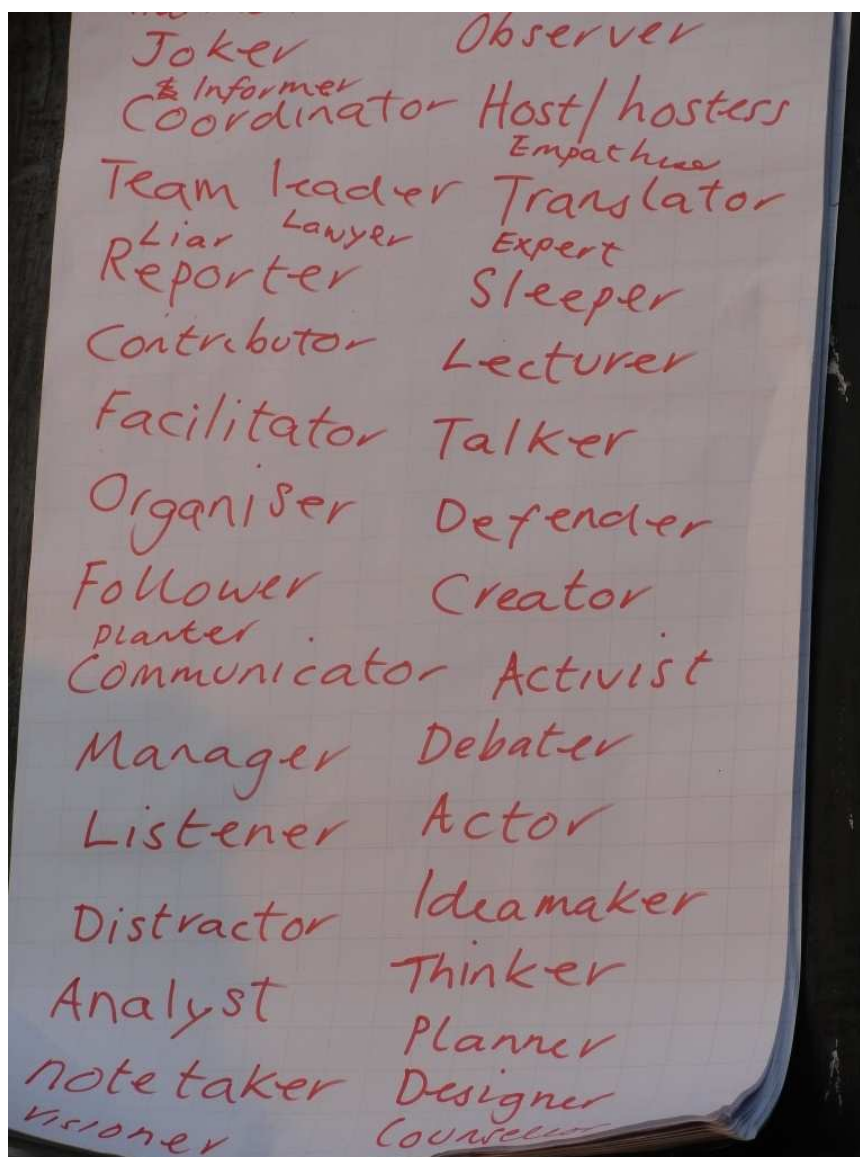
Based on the above analysis you develop possible strategies to weaken or eliminate the forces against your goal , strengthen the forces for the change you wish to bring about.

You decide your approach and focus, bearing in mind: what is possible for you and your group, which forces are weakest and which are strongest ,individuals, groups and resources who can carry out the action

Role played in Groups

Good group dynamics don't happen by accident but are the product of awareness about how groups work: the roles people play in groups, effective management of group-process and an understanding of power dynamics. Effective facilitation juggles these elements to bring out the best in participants to accomplish the group's goals.

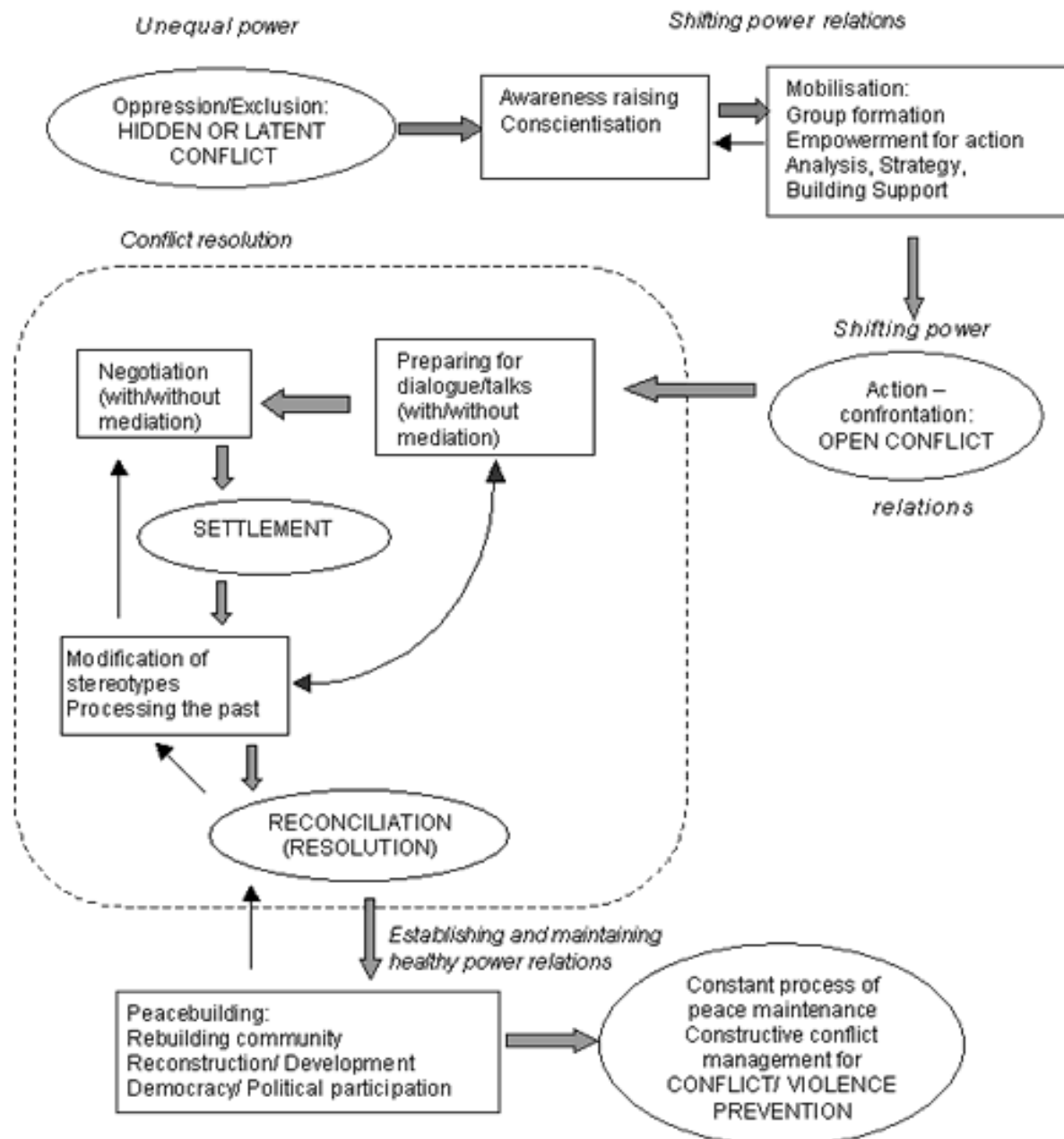
There was an interesting dialogue on *What Role People Played* and following things emerged from this exercise:



Roles in groups are traditionally divided into task and maintenance roles. Task roles help the group make progress and move towards achieving goals; and maintenance roles help the group build or sustain a sense of community and cohesion. Detail analysis of the role played in groups was presented through chart (See annexure) Also refer to four roles of the Activists

Conceptual tools on Transforming conflict

SAPA Workshop also had brief discussion on the Campaigning Power and Civil Courage: Bringing 'People Power' back into Conflict Transformation presented in the following chart



NOTE: Turning the Tide works primarily in the areas of conflict transformation described in this schematic as Unequal Power and Shifting Power Relations. This chart based on work by Hildegard Goss-Mayr and Diana Francis.

Understanding & breaking Cycle of violence

(Thayaparan from Sri Lanka undertook this session which was the curriculum designed to understand and breaking the cycle of violence)

NEED

- We need is to learn more about all kinds of Violence and specially about our own violence and to know how much we are inter connected to violence without knowing anything and how much we punish people for our own needs.
- Learn more about structural violence and the facts behind those violence and find ways and means based on Non violent to deal with them.

AIM

- To gain more understanding about violence and it implications and let the participants realize that how much they have contributed to the existing violent culture.
- Creating awareness among participants and give them an opportunity to share with others about their violence experiences and let them choose options to deal with violence.

OBJECTIVE

1. Creating awareness about their own judgment about others.
Output: Participants will be in a position to see and express about judgment which they made about them and others in the past and will be able to see how much their own judgment have contributed for violent behavior among them and with others.
2. Creating awareness among participants about their own violent behavior in order to meet only their needs.
Output: Participants will be in a position to express their behavior in the past with others honestly and will be starting to think about other options.
3. Empowering participants to use analytical thinking about violent events and motivate them to identify the factors which are causing the problem.
Output: Participants will be able to analyze violent situations and will identify the needs which create problem and will be in a position to develop strategy to deal with that.
4. Encourage participants to see that the needs are common for all and how those common needs can be identified and develop suitable strategy in order to meet every one needs not every one's greed.
Output: Participants will be able to see how much needs are the base for conflict and violent and it is equally important for every one.
5. Internalize the learning and let them to explore more about it and motivate them to think in a critical way.
Output: Participants will be starting to practice the learning and will give
6. Important equally to others needs as well.

.METHODOLOGY

Discussion, Storytelling. Self expression, Group work, Pair work, Teaching.
(Theoretical inputs)

Session I

- Small introduction about violent cycle and start the discussion about their own judgment and its physical and psychological effects. (30 minutes) After the common discussion participants will be asked to share their judgment which they made in their own life about other and its output. (Pair work) (30 minutes)
- Common discussion about their sharing and check the learning. (30 minutes)

Session 2

- Warm up activity.
- Completing the structure of violent cycle and let the participants to ask question about it. Including sharing of own experience.
- Participants asked to draw their own violent cycle and share with others in small groups.
- Participants asked to use the cycle to map their one of the community problem and share with others in whole group and feedback. Walking around. (45 minutes)

Session 3

- Warm up activity
- Working on how to break the cycle. Bit of a teaching about needs and it's important. Asked the participants to revisit their own violent cycle and express their unmet needs which created a judgment and violent behavior.
- Question about judgment.

Session 4

- Warm up activity if needed.
- Ask the participants to work with their community violent cycle and identify the unmet needs which caused problem and violent.
- Whole group presentation.

Session 5

- Identifying challenges to work with this idea. (Brain storming)
- Analytical discussion about violent cycle. What are the addition skills needed to continue the practice. Individual work. Followed by discussion.

Session 6

- Warm up activity. .
- Choosing two priority skills and teaching about those skills and practice.
- Open discussion about their learning and seeking clarification

Theatre of the Oppressed- A Rehearsal for Life

"OPPRESSED IS NOT AN INHERENT IDENTITY, NOT AN ESSENCE: IT IS A POSITION WITHIN A SYSTEM." JULIAN BOAL

Tools/Exercises used were from Theatre of the Oppressed ("T.O."), based on the practices of the same name, and designed by Augusto Boal. All tools and exercises were all taken from GAMES FOR ACTORS AND NON ACTORS by Augusto Boal). They included: Theatre of Images (sculpting images of oppression in our bodies); creating an Image of the Oppression; of the Ideal; of a transition to the ideal; Opening games (see Boal book or previous report); Forum theatre (presenting scene of oppression w/dialogue and allowing audience to say "freeze", step in, try various approaches.)

The aim of these exercises is to enable participants to have a meaningful experience using theatre of the oppressed.

This can be used anytime and anywhere: schools, conferences, neighborhoods, organizations, families--anywhere that needs help facing issues of oppression Workshop sessions; classroom; with groups in conflict; with groups oppressed by any force; the issue addressed should be named by those participating, never imposed by workshop leader (Boal calls the facilitator "the Joker" to remind him/her that no power is imposed by facilitator)

Outcome that the tool/Process likely to deliver is it allows participants to experience how oppression expresses itself in their own and others bodies and to externalize their understanding of oppressive situations through creating images and scenes; engages participants as a group and empowers them as individuals to analyze dynamics of power; to concretize the problem at hand by making an image of it; to envision and practice empowered ways of responding to oppression

THE OVERVIEW

Theatre of the Oppressed offers a rehearsal for life. It is a democratic process: every voice is given room to be heard and to contribute to the process. Also, we did a two part T.O. session on Violence and Nonviolence

The objective of Theatre of the Oppressed is to expose, analyze and ultimately end oppression; to open up dialogue in situations where none exists and to allow participants to 'practice' effective responses to oppression. The workshop begins

with exercises and physical games that get everyone involved, using their bodies, minds and imaginations. After being 'warmed up' with these games and exercises, the participants identify issues or concerns--areas of oppression--which they and their communities are experiencing. The group decides on three such issues or areas of oppression, and divide into three groups, each focusing on one of these areas. Each group creates human sculptures that show, in physical form, the issue they are exploring--they will "sculpt" the oppression. Groups show these images to the larger group, which will make observations about what they see.

During the second session, each group will create a scene, based on real life experiences they have had or heard about, in which the oppression their group is working on operates. There will be a 'protagonist' in the scene who will try to act in spite of the oppressive system/actions of others. Each group will create a scene that will have a beginning, a moment or moments of crisis in which oppression occurs, and will end in a sort of 'defeat.'

The workshop use different techniques to rehearse the scenes so that the participants explore the issues and characters more deeply.

In the final session, each group shows their scene to the larger group. The group has the opportunity to say, "Stop" and will step in to take the role of the protagonist, and 'try out' different choices of dealing with, confronting, outsmarting or otherwise facing the oppression. Several these 'interventions' are offered by the larger group, who are called 'spectators.'

Part One had 4 sessions: Introduction, Physical warm ups, identifying the issues of oppression and presenting a real image & ideal image

INTRODUCTION TO THEATRE OF THE OPPRESSED

Introduction explaining the origin and some of the tools of Theatre of Oppressed, (T.O.) an international form of theatre, created by Brazilian artist/activist Augusto Boal, which seeks to end oppression and create a just, human society.

Physical warm ups

Physical warm ups included everyone walking and shaking hands with everyone else; and a theatre exercise in which individuals went to the center of the group and enacted an experience of struggle or success in their peace or activist work, using only their body and the sound of the letter "A".

Identify issues of oppression

Next, the participants identified three issues of oppression which they would like to look at in smaller groups, using T. O. techniques: domestic violence, global warming and exploitation of resources. Each of the three smaller groups created a human sculpture (the 'Real' image) that depicted their topic. Working in silence, every person in each group was in the sculpture and was invited to contribute to its creation, so every person's 'voice' was represented. (Their 'voices' were expressed through sculpting the image.) When each sculpture was shown to the larger group,

the larger group members were also invited to make alterations, so that the final images (of Global Warming, Domestic Violence and Exploitation of Resources) were statements that represented a democratic process of dialog—dialogue through image creation.

Real image and ideal image



After presenting the ‘Real image’ each group went back to create an ‘ideal’ image—a sculpture of their subject, with the oppression removed. Again, through silent and democratic means, the group arrived at a sculpture in which Domestic Violence, Exploitation of Resources, and Global Warming had been transformed into an ideal image where the effects of oppression were absent.

In the evaluation of this session, participants discussed how they might use this process practically. One participant offered that he would like to use it in teaching literature. The exercises led one member to observe that theatre is a powerful method that is integral for transformation of society. Another spoke of how the tools of image theatre had allowed participants to expand their ideas: from one view, to move to a different view, and to understanding different aspects of the same issue. A participant shared how in Bangladesh popular theatre groups helped to promote independence.

In Part two 2 Sessions: Exploring Violence/Non-violence

Violence/Nonviolence

Warm Ups:

Physical warm up: “Leave no empty space.” Participants spread out across entire space and are asked to move at different rates of speed, continuing to fill the space, leaving no space empty.

Connection warm up: Still filling the space, participants are asked to move through the space, encountering others one at a time, shaking hands, and taking turns answering the question, “What does non-violence require?”



Flipchart list of ‘what does non violence require.’

Participants individually self sculpt and name one of these ‘requirements’ that they have. Then they identify and self sculpt one they wish they had more of. They move from its opposite into this quality and pause at a moment of transition.

“What are forms of violence you have experienced or witnessed?

*(For future, ask “Instances of violence”)

Long list of forms on flipchart. Group ‘votes’ by each putting a mark (using marker) beside one they want. We choose three forms of violence that were on the list and three groups form: Anger, Bullying, Abuse of Power.

Sculpting of an image

Subgroups sculpt their group’s topic. In large group, sub groups show their sculpture.Groups asked to think about scenario for next day.

Violence/nonviolence Session 2

Movement Warm up (Tsunami?)

Subgroups meet, each chooses scenario in which oppression is apparent. [It should be a situation which ends in ‘defeat’—in which oppressive action defeats or impedes the hero/heroine of the scene. Within the scenario there must be some possibility or hope for change, some character/s who might believably make different choices

that would stop or reduce the oppressive action. When the scene is presented to the audience, the audience will become 'spectators' and will 'try out' different choices to confront the oppression.]



Create 3 “storyboards” of the scenario:

PREPARATION (or opening/introduce)

ACTION (moment of crisis/drama)

DEFEAT (the scene’s final moment, showing oppression
'winning.')

Sub groups share their story boards with the larger group. Groups rehearse their scenes and then Groups present their scenes to the larger group, and the larger group members participate in a ‘forum’—After the scene has been played for the audience, it is begun again. This time, the facilitator stops the scene at instances of oppression and asks the spectators if there is anyone in the audience who might like to step in and take the role of a character who might believably be able to interrupt or reduce the oppressive action.

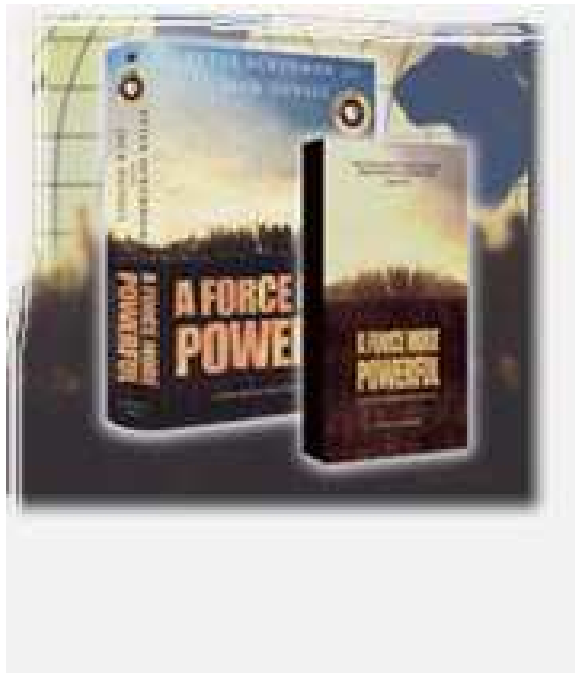
Each group begins to repeat their scene, and several ‘**spectators**’ offer alternatives. [For next time: clarify that the spectators are stepping in to offer alternatives that reduce the oppression, not to play the oppressors’ role more aggressively!]

Resources <http://www.theatreoftheoppressed.org/en/index.php> (the website currently has photo from Nepal Theatre of Oppressed event) and book mentioned, *GAMES FOR ACTORS AND NON ACTORS* by Augusto Boal. Theatre of the Oppressed Workshop scripted and conducted by Martha Kemper, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. For further information contact: see the website directory for practitioners in your region; Martha Kemper mlk11@psu.edu

A Force More Powerful

A Force More Powerful, a three-hour documentary series, explores the 20th century's most important but least-understood stories - how nonviolent power has overcome oppression and authoritarian rule all over the world. Narrated by Ben Kingsley, and nominated for an Emmy, it premiered on PBS in September 2000.

"A Force More Powerful which purpose was to show instances of non-violence social change in order to inspire, encourage, and empower others to use this methodology. Given the shortness of



time, we spoke about how we felt following portions of the video more than what methods we saw used. In the introduction to the video, I referred to an appendix in Walter Wink's The Powers That Be (I think) which documents instances of non-violent social change around the world and shows a logarithmic increase in recent history." – Viv Hawkins

ON THE FORCE MORE POWERFUL FILM (GATHERED DURING THE RESPONSE SESSION)

PIYUSH: WE NEED TO CHANGE OUR SELF AND WE SHOULD NOT LOSE HOPE.

VISWATMA: WITHOUT SACRIFICE CHANGE CANNOT BE MADE

MRITUNJAY: DO NOT FORGET THE TARGET (GOAL); KEEP PATIENCE AND IN TIME EVERYTHING IS POSSIBLE

Website address of "A Force More Powerful" <http://www.aforcemorepowerful.org/>

And for study guide

<http://www.aforcemorepowerful.org/films/afmp/educational.php>

Strengthening Democracy at Grassroots

EKTA PARISHAD ACTION BASED TRAINING PROCESS AND FOOTMARCH PARTICIPATION

The youth camp of the Ekta Parishad is an ongoing process for Jan Satyagraha 2012. Rajagopal said, “We are using this opportunity to allow them to interact with you. Our people do not get much of an opportunity to interact with people from outside. This is part of their education. They now know there are 7 countries from South Asia here, and it gives them a chance to know what is happening in each of these countries. For the first time they would have a chance to see someone from these countries. They would be enlightened. A solidarity statement from each country would be very interesting. We have not developed sufficient solidarity with the South Asian countries. How do we strengthen a solidarity process within South Asia? The youth camp discussed, In terms of culture, in terms of dignity, what have they really lost? The people from the younger generation as well as older generation—they discussed what have they lost? And how they lost their control over their land, their forest, and how did we lose our culture and all that we had, and became almost like beggars.



Rajagopal said that it is important to understand we have lost our dignity, our culture—not just land and resources. The second step is to find out how did that happen—who brought in modern education, modern medicine, modern technology, in place of our traditional education and other things.

Further the camp had discussions on how to regain what we have lost-- how to regain our dignity, our resources? Rajagopal added that this would happen not just by sitting down-but by action. And in order to act they would have to be united.

Posing the further questions to the group for deliberations, Rajagopal raised following questions

- How do we link with those communities, for a larger fight in Jansatyagraha2012?

- How do we get all the people of different indigenous communities together?
How do we ask each of them to send a delegation to join the march?

We will then talk about how to regain what we have lost- how to reclaim our soil which we have spoiled by using fertilizers -- through **constructive work**.

How do we **boycott** many things which we are using now. E.g. alcohol is a big problem. And then how do we unite for **struggle**.

The youth camp of Ekta Parishad uses a lot of songs the training programme, debate and have discussion as its methodology. There is detailed planning of the youth camp. . In every training programme Ekta Parishad plans to train about 100-120 young people. There will be sixty batches being trained in the next 18 months. They will provide leadership in 2010. The workshop participants observed this process, had interaction with participants of the youth camp and also had dialogue with them.

GLIMSES OF THE FOOTMARCH....



PRESENTATIONS

Ekta Parishad Movement by Anil Gupta



Anil Gupta from India made a presentation on the tools: Struggle and dialogue used by the Ekta Parishad from the Grassroots level to the national and the international level. Experiences of Janadesh 2007 (Mobilization of 25,000 people through Gandhian approach for Footmarch for seeking land rights) were also shared.

Tools and Technique on Land Rights Advocacy

Ekta Parishad, India

Ekta Parishad succeeded to communicate and pressurize the Central Government to set up the “National Land Reform Council” and “Committee on State Agrarian Relations and the Unfinished Task In Land Reforms” (published in The Gazette of India on January 9, 2008/Pausa 19, 1929) by organizing a people’s verdict (Janadesh 2007), where by 25 thousands landless and deprived people undertook foot march from Gwalior to Delhi on 2nd October 2007.

Janadesh had a deep impact on the Satyagrahis (Participants of Janadesh). It boosted their morale and they became confident of leading, initiating communities to solve their problems.

Ekta Parishad, a people’s organization based on has been trying to enhance access to people’s control over natural resource like land, forest and water through its land rights campaign by people’s participation since 18 years, spreading in 10 states Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Kerela, Maharashtra and Tamilnadu.

The organization has continued non-violent actions like rally; sit in, demonstration, foot march, study, research, collection of grievances etc for creating pressure over the government for land and livelihood rights of marginalized community. This paper is focusing on People’s verdict, the movement (Janadesh 2007), which is described here.

Problem/issue addressed

Land happens to be source conflict and source of livelihood. The only source of livelihood for Poor and marginalized community is land. Poverty being closely associated with the land deprivation, Ekta parishad has largely focuses on Land Rights issue.

The advocacy strategy

Advocacy strategy was massive mobilization, 25000 people from marginalized community from different parts of India, undertaking foot march from Gwalior to Delhi covering 350kms in 28 days to build up pressure on the government through nonviolence direct action -Janadesh 2007.

The advocacy action used

Ekta Parishad advocacy action was—Janadesh 2007 (People's Verdict)

Specific objectives

To mainstream the Land Reform agenda by building up pressure and compel the government to act on the land reform agenda.

Targets: Marginalized groups

Approaches

The advocacy approaches has been People's Centred and Rights based with deeply rooted in the Non-violence action

Risks and assumptions

- The political climate would not have any other distraction
- Able to mobilize enough resources (Financial and skilled human resource including the critical target of 25000 people and able to sustain them for 28 days)
- Internal discipline of the organization
- Weather would not become erratic
- No tragic accidents or incidents

Timelines: December 11, 2005 to October 30, 2007

Tools/techniques/approaches (e.g. model programs, protests, collaboration, litigation, public awareness, research, persuasion, constituency building, empowerment, etc.) used to achieve advocacy aims?

Ekta Parishad has long experience of using advocacy tools and research work undertaken by Jill Carl Harris , had made following two tables to understand tools using Struggle and Dialogue as integral process.

Table no.1- 'Struggle to dialogue' direction in the continuum

Objective	Method	Tools	Kind of tool
To get people mobilized to get redressal from the State.	Carry out a process of leadership development at the village level so that people can create their own formation within the village itself.	Give those tools for mobilisation i.e. socio-economic and political understanding of the power relations; introduction to non-violent action and their methods; methods of implementing an action strategy.	Struggle
To get young people trained so that they can return to the village equipped to help villagers in the leadership development.	Train youth so that they can act as catalysts at the village level helping to shape the formation giving it a non-violent quality.	Provide them with some supports so that they can stay in the village and do organizing.	Struggle
To start bringing the community leaders and villagers into a kind of formation.	Work with women, panchayat (local government) leaders and community groups on education, economic and advocacy programmes.	Use morcha (mini-campaigns) to draw attention to the situation faced by people.	Struggle
To mobilize at a wider level.	Link many villages into a larger cluster unit so that mini-campaigns can be carried out at the district or regional level.	Identify a larger campaign to galvanise sets of mini-campaigns.	Struggle
To expand mobilization so that one is beyond a set of vested interests.	Link multiple struggles into a state-wide campaign.	Create a larger action such as padyatra (long march) to create a larger action front.	Struggle
To expand mobilization so that one can link to national government structures.	Link multiple state-level struggles to a national campaign.	Facilitate multiple state-level struggles that can converge at a national level.	Struggle
To use this pressure to dialogue with the State (provincial and central levels).	Give options to policy makers that they can choose struggle or dialogue.	Create state level for a for dialogue.	Dialogue
To pressure national government by interacting with international groups and organisations.	Set up email campaigns and letter writing exercises, engage different sensitive people externally.	Have external people write to the President, Governors, Prime Minister or Chief Ministers to remind them that there actions are transparent.	Dialogue

Table no. 2- 'Dialogue to struggle' direction in the continuum

Objectives	Methods	Tools	Kind of tool
To have a consultation process so that grassroots groups can consult with various government officials.	Give well thought-out papers and discussions that represent strategies for advancing the land rights agenda and bringing it to the attention of policy makers and administrators.	Provide situational analysis and case studies to enable policy implementation. Set up Task Force.	Dialogue with some sense of the urgency of the issue. Use of non-violence as preferable to policy makers.
To insist that the government distribute land after a politician has made numerous promises to his constituency.	Demonstrate.	Surround a political representative until he agrees to take action.	Dialogue with a small component of struggle.
To get a response from the District Administration.	Submit written grievances to the District Collector to ensure that he understands the numbers of people who are suffering land alienation.	Sit in front of the District Collectorate and force him into listening to the grievances that have been provided and demand action.	Dialogue with a higher magnitude of struggle because attracting media and public attention.
To get a response from the District Administration.	Find methods for persuading the District and State Administration into action.	Get third party interventions to support the grievances through a tribunal process.	Dialogue with third party verification to give moral grounds for the struggle - a kind of legitimization.
To get a time-bound active response from the State and District Administration.	Provide the District Administration with a mechanism to monitor its own land distribution system.	Set up a State and District wide Task Force that ensures the proper distribution of land.	Dialogues keeping in mind a modality of action.
To make a big public outcry about the lack of government action.	Court arrest to bring attention to this matter.	Set up a road blockade. Re-occupy land.	Struggle - this usually comes when all avenues of dialogue have been exhausted.

The range of tools used in non-violent action

Four types of tools have been broadly used by the Ekta Parishad by consolidating each tool and working out strategy to use it simultaneously at the same time to create space.

1. Tools for building social organizations through Training and building cadres of young men and women, Formation of Traditional Panchayats and forming larger organization at the cluster level.
2. Resistance or struggle tools through developing mini campaign, using cultural activism, Occupying the land, Blockades, sit-ins and public hearing etc.
3. Tools for scaling up campaigns – Reach out to the people through padayatra and undertaking multi tasks...like collecting of grievances in writing, working with media, international networking, Cultural programmes, taking out rally and working out the follow up strategy.
4. Dialogue and advocacy tools. Public opinion making tools , Creation of task force,

These four sets of tools show the progression in building up a campaign. The struggle tools reinforce the social organizational tools and vice versa, and the advocacy tools bring the whole approach into both a bottom-up struggle which is met with an advocacy aimed at the decision makers, and a legitimization giving space and a fair hearing to the grievances that are otherwise ignored. During Janadesh above tools were used Such a large action gave the organisation the strength to stand against mighty state and be counted and heard.

The advocacy action

1. People's Assembly of the deprived and rally
2. District and State level demonstration
3. Warning to Government (before one year and 100 days)

Roles of various stakeholders

Various stakeholders were involved in the process. Ekta Parishad took initiative in forming National Campaign on Land & Livelihood (NCLL) in which several other voluntary organisations joined the movement. Alliances were also built with network organisations like Wada Na Todo Abhiyan (Keep the promise campaign), VANI, CNI etc. They participated in Post card writing campaign, Land survey and collection of grievances, participation in the footmarch and such other ways. Several national and international meetings were held. Government officials were also invited in seminars, workshop and National consultations organised.

Role of media in advocacy

Media gave a good coverage articles, feature, live-telecast and news in entire print and electronic media.

Analysis of the advocacy target & analytical tool used

Documentation and research tools like case study, focus group discussion in the review meetings were used. Independent reviewers were also appointed by various associated groups such as Ekta Europe etc.

The inputs and the research carried out by the funding organisations became useful tools for making the analysis of the advocacy target.

Sources of funding for the advocacy strategy & cost

1. People's contribution in cash and kind
2. Individual and associated non-formal groups in India and abroad
3. Donor agencies like Christian Aid, DFID, Ford Foundation etc
4. This massive struggle costs – 13 hundred thousand dollars.

Possibilities for replication and up scaling

The advocacy tools can be applied in a different community, society or country. But applying these tools blindly would lead to disaster. Understanding of the tools first is important.

The dialogue-struggle tools can be used by anyone who has power in the elite structures politically or administratively, using that power to give space in which to operate. If one puts both of them together, it is a combination that the state cannot ignore.

By using all four tools in combination one can develop a large-scale campaign that both mobilises people at the grassroots level and brings the issues to the notice of political decision-makers at the top level. The coming together of diverse individuals and groups on one platform with a broad and non- hierarchical formation is likely to both have the highest impact and the greatest sustainability. All tools need to be framed keeping these campaign-building exigencies in mind.

These tools don't work in isolation. (The other approaches and methodology needs to be used simultaneously)

Beyond this, the tools themselves have to be diverse to meet a variety of situations yet used in some sort of succession. Social organisation tools being usually precede struggle and advocacy tools. A common difficulty is that advocacy is often carried out without sufficient mobilization or alternatively mobilization is carried out without sufficient advocacy. Both are essential and must be calibrated to each other for maximum impact.

The principle tool of organizing must be effective mobilization. Without that nothing really can occur. Poor people themselves have to take up the satyagraha ('holding on to truth' through action) to demonstrate their capacity to endure difficult conditions, with staying power or power of endurance. This has to be seen within and by outsiders as moral power more important than money power or brute force. In India this coincides with the very ancient and deep-set notion that abstinence is a means for achieving liberation. For this reason long marches (padyatras) have a persuasive power in India that may not echo in other countries.

Non-violence means that the struggle should never be an end in itself. One is enduring struggle to disarm the opposition, not to destroy it. This is borne out of the notion that social relations are constantly dynamic and that the struggle is never one-time. Moreover the struggle is facing a system, not a set of individuals. The objective of struggle is not replacing one group of people with another; rather it is about changing the political culture (the prevailing economy of thought) completely.

Success indicators were used to monitor and evaluate the action

- People participation
- Leadership development
- Ability to convince the Government
- Mainstreaming of the Land Reforms agenda

Information/research were critical to achieve the aims of the advocacy

The study of the various aspects of land, bringing out publications and then disseminating: People's perspective on land right, new approach towards land reforms, history of forest villages, Orange area dispute and a Study on Land Distribution was undertaken,

Outcomes

National land reform council formed under the Chairmanship of Prime Minister

National Land Reform Committee set up to give recommendation to the council to carry forward the unfinished agenda of land reforms.

Impacts

Two important acts were passed by the parliaments: Forest Rights act and National Rehabilitation policy

Janadesh boosted the moral and people's faith in getting justice through Nonviolence and peace enhanced.

Internationally support for Land Rights agenda got recognised.

Reference

1. Jill Carr Harris – Best Practices in Advocacy in India: A Case Study of the Land Rights Struggle in Madhya Pradesh, India, 2001.
2. Struggle -dialogue ;tools for land movements in India by Jill Carl Harris in 2005
3. A journey towards People's Verdict, writer-Anil Gupta Published by Ekta Parishad in 2007.
4. A way forward, Published by Ekta Parishad in 2008.
5. Advocacy perspective of Ekta Parishad by Vijay Bharatiya in 2008.

OTHER PRESENTATIONS

Community Radio in Nepal –A presentation by Ganga from Nepal



Ganga made an exciting presentation on Community Radio. Through her presentation she was able to convince how the Radio could be used for building community leadership and peace building. Radio programmes should also include stories based on community issues. A suggestion for linking website and creating a blog was given.

Case Study of Community change in Sri Lanka by Nishanta from Sri Lanka.



This presentation highlighted how the need based approach can be used for empowering the community. There was discussion on the Sri Lanka situation. It was suggested that more sharing of experiences, exposure visits to Sri Lanka with SAPA friends, Organizing of youth camps, Networking with other similar organizations can be helpful in sensitizing others of the situation of Sri Lanka.

A presentation about Ekta Peace Force was made by Benzi from Kerala (India).



Benzi presentation was based on the peace building work undertaken by the Ekta Pariahad in Kerala during the last couple of years “Ekta Peace Force” has a potentiality to take roots.

FEEDBACK & LEARNINGS

THE IMPORTANT REALIZATION FOR SAPA WAS THE FOCUS ON THE NONVIOLENT APPROACH AS ITS MAIN STRENGTH & BUILDING COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP AS AN ULTIMATE GOAL OF REACHING TO THE MASSES TO STRENGTHEN THE DEMOCRACY.

Looking at the outcome of the workshop activity, keeping the objectives of the workshop in mind, the following points emerged:

Nine day workshop shared that many number of tools. Each day had overlapping tools which made the workshop more interactive. Uniqueness of the workshop was the live experience of the Ekta Parishad process of democratic capacity building, mobilization and advocacy was an integrated dimension of this workshop.

The **General Feedback session** from the participants reflected the following responses about the tools shared in the workshop:

- Workshop was very interactive and had broad range of facilitation.
- Exposure to other people situation – self learning
- Broadened understanding of democracy
- Workshop had Space for sharing
- The workshop shared knowledge of reality
- Cycle of violence was deep, simple and had feeling element
- We saw many ways of working for peace
- Perception of people power was felt while watching (film)
- Inspired by the work of others.

These tools helped in developing strategy and capacity to make analysis.(See annexure for details)Some of the above tools can be found on the Quaker “Turning The Tide “ website: <http://www.turning-the-tide.org/>

The important realization for SAPA was the focus on the nonviolent approach is its main strength & Building community leadership as an ultimate goal of reaching to the masses to strengthen the democracy. So the National Plan of Action were prepared by the participants that focus on the democracy and nonviolence aspects keeping building community leadership in mind.

Features of Follow up Plan Emphasized

- Making it localised and scale down the programme
- Make to a short term programme of max two or three months
- Making plan that makes direct intervention at the community level
- Integrate the plan into their programme
- Banks upon one's own skill and community resources
- Uses tools learnt during the workshop and share its experiences with others

Basic Features of the plan submitted

- This plan is youth initiated (The emerging the 2nd level leadership)
- Demonstrate our will to engage community
- Building community leadership is common to all plans.
- Each programme has good potentiality

Why do SAPA promote such ventures?

- Provide opportunity to youth to build their capacity to engage with the community and thus broaden our base.
- Build up the attitude to bank upon one's own skill and community resources
- Develop self confidence in using of tools learnt during the workshop

FEEDBACK BASED ON EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

“I AM REALLY EXCITED AND HAPPY ABOUT THE WORKSHOP OUT COME AND IMPACT. BECAUSE I WAS ABLE TO SEE HOW THE PARTICIPANTS’ UNDERSTANDING ABOUT DEMOCRACY AND NON VIOLENCE, HAS BEEN DEEPEMED AND THEY HAVE STARTED TO THINK IN DIFFERENT WAYS. FOR ME THE CONNECTION BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND NON VIOLENCE AND THE WAY THEY COMPLEMENT EACH OTHER ARE VERY INTERESTING. I WOULD SAY THIS WORKSHOP HAS GIVEN MORE THOUGHTS, DIFFERENT WAYS AND MEANS TO DEAL WITH VIOLENT CONFLICT AND DIFFERENT SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE TO CONTINUE MY WORK WITH MORE MEANING IN THE FUTURE.” CO-FACILITATOR THAYAPARAN

Suggestions

- THE FUTURE WORKSHOP SHOULD STRIVE TO HAVE GENDER BALANCE AS FOR MALE AND FEMALE PARTICIPANT.
- CONTINUITY OF FOCUS ON ONE SUBJECT BEFORE MOVING TO ANOTHER WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE EFFECTIVE. THE WORKSHOP NEEDED CLEARER COORDINATION WITH PROPER LAYOUT OF THE COURSE CONTENT AND ACTIVITY
- FOR THE SOUTH ASIA PEACE ALLIANCE (SAPA) TO EMERGE AS A STRONGER AND MORE INFLUENTIAL ENTITY, MORE SERIOUS ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO THE AUGMENTATION OF RESOURCES. IT COULD THEN EMERGE AS A STRONGER ORGANIZATION AND CONTRIBUTE MORE TOWARDS PEOPLE OF SOUTH ASIA

The Evaluation questionnaire that was distributed at the end of the workshop threw up some interesting comments and reactions from the participants. The comments were sought regarding the content, learning, process and impact. The participants had the opportunity to remain anonymous or write their name on the form. Most chose to be anonymous.

Content:

Most of the participants were of the view that the content of the workshop was positive and important. The facilitators acted in a very democratic and facilitative manner- even to the extent that one participant noted that what had been experienced was, at times, “extreme democracy”!

With a nine day workshop containing many components the facilitators had selected practical issues which were not only relevant to the participants’ day to day work and life situations and activities, but also very usable! The tools and techniques helped the participants to learn more about “Nonviolence through Democracy” and its importance in one’s daily life situations. It gave them an insight into the Gandhian approaches and techniques, which they could use, to resolve problems in their locality.

Reflecting on the content, one participant said, “Democracy is fragile in SAARC countries. And also increasing trends of violence made it imperative that such kind of workshops be organized more often. Therefore, to resist violence, more and more workshops/actions are required on peace and nonviolence. The main theme and the contents such as Democracy, nonviolence is the need of the time.”

On the other hand, many were of the view that the different sessions lacked continuity and seemed disconnected. The process of the workshop should be

developed with interconnection of sessions. As a result there seemed to be at times, a lack of coordination. The issues seemed to remain on the surface and there was no depth or critical input.

One participant reflected that “Being a young democracy, the relevance of the content was very much. It gave an insight into the drawbacks and limitations of democracy.”

Learning:

The important lessons learnt from the workshop were both at individual as well as at community level. As one participant said, “I intend to apply the learnings by revisiting the existing training manual by incorporating tools and process used in the workshop such as Pillars of Power, Theatre of the Oppressed “and “Breaking the cycle of violence.”

At the individual level, many of the management skills of the Ekta Parishad people’s movement, witnessed by the participants could lead to the participant’s own capacity building, so that they could be more effective in community based activities. In fact the entire workshop provided a wonderful opportunity of learning through sharing.

Possible themes for future workshops:

The workshop threw up interesting ideas for future workshop themes:

- Different approaches to Nonviolence
- Nonviolent Communication
- Youth and networking. Volunteerism, Mobilization
- Environment and friendly living
- Environment and peace
- Human Rights and Democracy
- Conflict resolution and Negotiation process
- Practice of Alternative Dispute Resolution as a means of peace and Conflict Resolution
- Democracy: an Asian perspective

Process:

The process was interactive and everyone had an opportunity to express themselves and share their views. It was based on practical experiences and activities, rather than theorizing about issues. Considerable effort was made to see that the process was democratic and supported the content, that there was gender balance.

Impact:

The workshop seemed to have left its impact at 3 levels—the personal, the organizational, and participants' own contribution to the process. As one of the co-facilitator Thayaparan said, "I am really excited and happy about the workshop outcome and impact. Because I was able to see how the participants' understanding about Democracy and non violence, has been deepened and they have started to think in different ways. For me the connection between democracy and Non violence and the way they complement each other are very interesting. I would say this workshop has given more thoughts, different ways and means to deal with violent conflict and different skills and knowledge to continue my work with more meaning in the future."

At the personal level participants felt that they had been able to internalize the learning, their confidence in the work of SAPA had increased, the workshop had made them more democratic in their approach(Anil),knowledge of practical aspects of democracy had enriched them and they were less judgmental of others than before. One participant also remarked," The simple and committed life style of the leaders of Ekta Parishad will remain with me as an inspiration."

At the organizational level they had been exposed to more ideas about the Nonviolence approach, they would try to use more nonviolent action to organize protests. The workshop had given the participants greater exposure to organizational work, which would benefit their organizations no doubt.

As far as *their own contribution* was concerned, they felt that they had been positive and open in their approach to many new ideas. They could take on community work with a greater degree of confidence or become a volunteer trainer. They could facilitate similar activity in the future.

Despite many logistical shortcomings, it was overall a great learning and sharing experience. For some, language was a barrier, but despite this, they learnt a lot from the experience!

Other concluding suggestions:

In conclusion, the participants themselves came up with many interesting suggestions which could help to make a future workshop more meaningful.

The future workshop should strive to have gender balance as for male and female participant. (We did strive for this but 5 female participants from Pakistan and Sri Lanka failed to gain entry visas in to India.)

Continuity of focus on one subject before moving to another would have been more effective. The workshop needed clearer coordination with proper layout of the course content and activity

For the South Asia Peace Alliance (SAPA) to emerge as a stronger and more influential entity, more serious attention should be paid to the augmentation of resources. It could then emerge as a stronger organization and contribute more towards people of South Asia

LIVE INTERVIEW FEEDBACK (AUDIO)

(The interview was taken by Ganga from Nepal; some words are added in brackets for clarity purpose)

SRI LANKA

Nishantha: This will help build SAPA Networking, because our individual action plans have some interconnected activities which will help build network, can also carry on internet dialogue on peace building, democracy, participation. At a personal level, plan to share knowledge gained here with colleagues and plan to organize a workshop on democratic leadership. It was interesting to be part of a padyatra (foot march) for the first time and to see how people get together to make social change and also to see at first hand the power of the people.

Thayaparan: Ekta Parishad is an inspiring example of how people can work together. Appreciate Rajagopal's leadership and work

(On the last day at the foot march Site) Scared initially to see the police taking down everyone's name so when my turn came I started talking of Gandhi and Buddha! Later I realized they were (*appreciative of Ekta Parishad as a movement*) and there to help us.

How to transform power in a positive way. People who have nothing to lose as they have already lost everything—People's power is all they have. How to organize people's power was brought out well by the padyatra

Taking a lot back from Core Group meeting (that preceded the workshop) it is really a turning point in the South Asia Peace Alliance (SAPA). Hope to go to Bhutan for the people's SAARC- Ekta Parishad is an inspiring example of how people can work together. Appreciate Rajagopal's leadership and work

Harendra: Learnt a lot, met different communities-saw different types of nonviolence techniques. Attitude changed towards nonviolence as a method to get rights.

BANGLADESH

Nasir: Core Group meeting and workshop, both a success. High team spirit and cooperation between participants. Learnt about tools of nonviolence. Padayatra, a moving and empowering experience. Being with the common people, as well as the police and govt officials was an experience As a SAPA Core Group member felt that we had good discussions and talked of plans and policies, followed by many practical experiences at the workshop. Logistically, felt that this was more practical than having the meeting in a hotel

Shirlene: (Brazil)

First experience and was a good one.

BHUTAN

Sonam: Content of the workshop were good and relevant to current realities but logistics and planning left much to be desired. Will go back and see how SAPA can be linked to Bhutan, and identify a good NGO for the purpose. The padayatra was a unique, enriching and enlightening experience. Learnt of the power of the people.

May not experience this padyatra in my lifetime and will have to return for 2012 padyatra! Good to see how people's power can bring changes.

Kinzang: Glad to be here. Very interesting and padayatra exciting.

INDIA

Sanjay: Come from a very violent area such as Bihar and Jharkhand. This workshop has taught me to be patient—and to listen to people—Learnt to build relationship with the police.

Benzi: (Workshop) Very effective. Learnt of democratic way of doing things, especially Stuart's approach and way of cooperation and communication with participants. It was the same with the other facilitators.. Learnt about the Nonviolent methodologies, but also expected more

Anil: Contents of the workshop were good and we were helped to build our own capacities. Thaya's Breaking the Cycle of Violence helped me to learn new things, especially how feelings come from events. Also from Stuart's (Stuart Morton from QPSW) talks about different forms of violence. Personally, understood democracy in depth, and its real meaning as in faith, love, sharing, caring and not just as a constitutional exercise. Learnt to dialogue with stakeholders, helpful to analyze grassroots.

We hope that our work will guide the society towards the establishment of peace and non violence in society.

Vishwatma: (India)

Good learning opportunity. Learnt many tools and action oriented programmes. Will go back and identify villages for carrying out training programmes, and would then build long term strategies.

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Strengthening Democracy Through Non-violence			
PARTICIPANTS LIST			
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RESOURCE MATERIALS

TREE OF NONVIOLENCE

Nonviolence is a way of life rooted in compassion, love and integrity. The symbol of the tree, with roots, branches and fruits being part of the whole is used to explain nonviolence.

HIERARCHY OF DENIAL

This exercise maps how others or we may be denying reality, and thereby preventing problems being solved or social change from happening. This model also reveals the levels of denial above the one on which we are blocked.

EXPLAINING ACTIVE NONVIOLENCE

This exercise is a general exercise drawing upon participants' experiences and knowledge to introduce the concept of active nonviolence.

WASHING LINE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

This exercise is designed to get participants thinking about how social change happens, what are the necessary conditions and relevant factors.

PILLARS OF POWER

This exercise aims to help campaigning groups break down an social justice issue into manageable sized chunks so that they can strategise how to go about working on it.

SOCIAL SPEEDOMETER

This tool is useful for assessing the attitudes of groups and individuals towards your campaigning goal. It helps you to identify who are allies, potential allies, the neutral parties (or persuadable parties) and those in most opposition to your goal.

FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

This exercise leads to analyze the forces working for and against a particular goal or activity to identify where change could most realistically start to happen.

FOUR ROLES OF ACTIVISTS

Activists need to be seen as responsible citizens in order to win respect, acceptance and legitimacy from the majority of ordinary citizens who must be won over for movements to succeed. Find out the four roles of activists.

ROLES PEOPLE PLAY IN GROUPS

Good group dynamics don't happen by accident but are the product of awareness about how groups work: the roles people play in groups, effective management of group-process and an understanding of power dynamics. Effective facilitation juggles these elements to bring out the best in participants to accomplish the group's goals.

ALL THE ABOVE RESOURCES CAN BE DOWNLOADED FROM THE TURNING OF TIDE WEBSITE LINK BELOW

<http://www.turning-the-tide.org/resources>

<http://www.turning-the-tide.org/resources/manual/activenonviolence>